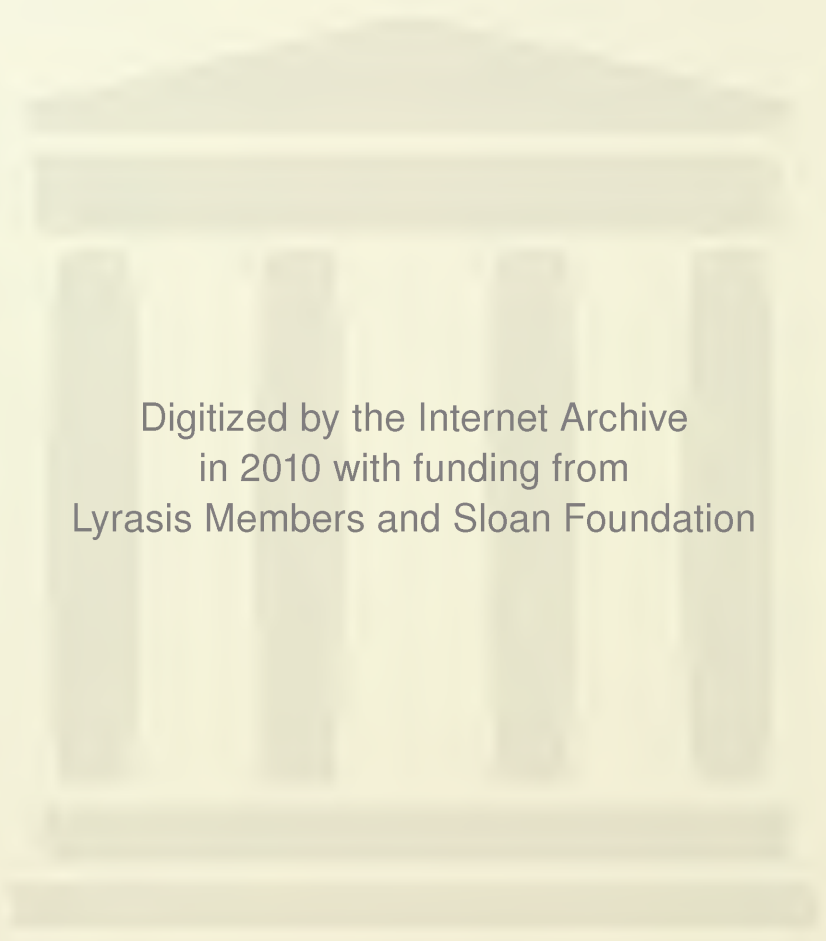


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Globalization and Sovereignty: The Rise of Non-State Actors in Theory and in Practice

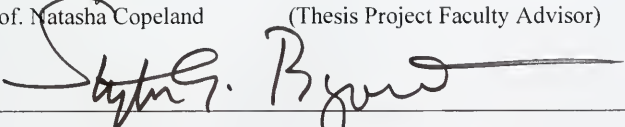
A Senior Honors Thesis in the Department of International Affairs
Sweet Briar College

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Globalization and Sovereignty: The Rise of Non-State Actors in Theory and in Practice

I. Introduction

Since the Peace of Westphalia, we have lived in an “anarchic” nation-state system with relatively centralized power as the defining factor of a nation’s sovereignty. Private, multinational, and transnational groups, both secular and religious, have long existed as international players. However, since the end of the Cold War, expanding capitalism and technological innovation have led to the rise of globalization, the process of an increasing integration between diverse world players. Globalization has allowed non-state actors a rapidly growing influence in the three principal domains of international relations: politics, economics, and military force. Sometimes the interaction between such groups and the state is tense and competitive; at other times it is cooperative. Regardless, today’s dynamic between these groups at both the national and international levels redefines sovereignty both in purpose and implementation, thus changing citizens’ lives in profound ways.

The traditional nation-state has found itself moving into a more cooperative position with non-state actors, transforming the former’s traditional, perceived role as total and ultimately sovereign actor. The growing power of private players on the global stage—non-governmental organizations, multi-national corporations, and multilateral institutions—provides for people’s needs in ways that traditional states failed to fill or filled insufficiently. Though the drive toward traditional sovereignty is historically powerful, the current trend demonstrates that growing public-private cooperation is increasingly inevitable, and that such partnerships are effective. On continents across the

globe, in Africa with its struggling post-colonial governments, in an industrializing Latin America, in the European Union and the break-up of the former Soviet Bloc, we are seeing new partnerships being forged that transcend historic national boundaries.

In this new globalized world citizens can be empowered by mechanisms offered by new forms of globalization in ways that were unlikely under traditional governmental structures based on national sovereignty. New partnerships operate in almost every sphere: health care, energy, security, environmental policy, capital growth, communications, and education. Indeed it is hard to imagine an area of human enterprise that is not being shaped by these new forces. Some nation-states that have embraced the new and developing power of outside parties often find their own legitimacy increased by virtue of the improvements to the well-being of its citizenry and its subsequent satisfaction and productivity. In fact, societies infused by the expertise offered by these non-traditional players can benefit at both a macro and micro level by the expertise offered by these specialized parties — technological, financial, and practical — rather than being at the mercy of their own governments' limited resources or efforts.

An example of these new partnerships at work is clearly seen in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Nigeria. The African continent has been profoundly affected by this disease; in Nigeria alone 2.9 million people are infected with the AIDS virus, and 220,000 people a year die from it. The virus currently effects approximately 4% of the adult population in Nigeria, one of the highest rates on the continent.¹ In order to form a comprehensive strategy for dealing with AIDS, the country has utilized resources from organizations with widely differing motivations that function at various levels.

¹ Nigeria, *UNAIDS*. URL: http://www.unaids.org/en/Regions_Countries/Countries/nigeria.asp (April 2007).

Multilateral organizations such as UNAIDS offer institutional information on dealing with the disease, as well as opportunities for contact with an international network through summits and conferences. Private groups, such as the one to be examined in this paper, also connect with an international network to provide resources such as knowledge, pharmaceutical products, financial support, and human resources. The national government addresses the problem administratively, and in some cases also provides direct care for HIV/AIDS patients. The participation of so many actors from across the international spectrum has created a multiplicity of influences brought to bear on the AIDS crisis. This multiplicity grows as technological advances in communication bring people closer to each other in a widening network of players connected in new and formerly unimaginable ways, often beyond the realm of traditional nation-state interactions. Globalization is increasingly the path to which international relations must adjust. Thomas Friedman, the well-known *New York Times* correspondent, argues in his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* that globalization is “a dynamic ongoing process.”² It is both inevitable and far-reaching, involving “the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before--in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations, and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before...”³ More and more, governments and their citizens are being drawn, sometimes reluctantly and sometimes enthusiastically, into a globalized world.

² Thomas L. Friedman. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. New York: First Anchor Books, 2000. P. 512.

³ *Ibid.*

II. The Changing Face of Nation-States

Where we started: traditional definitions of sovereignty

Traditional definitions of sovereignty are being worked upon and challenged by the forces of globalization. These definitions, by which the world has functioned for the past four centuries, operate against a presumed backdrop of anarchy; each state actor is accountable only to itself. There is no internationally accepted definition of sovereignty. Most parties agree on a nation-state's "right against interference or intervention by any foreign (or international) power."⁴ Governments theoretically adhere to a "principle of noninterference on the nation-state level,⁵" especially in the "internal affairs of another."⁶ Some theorists believe that sovereignty only applies to internal authority but not interstate relations, while others believe in "the political authority of the state to exercise ultimate control over activities within its political jurisdiction and over its foreign affairs."⁷ The process of governance is acted out through a system of centralized hierarchical power, a process that does not require democracy, and is in fact could be more effective within a strongly centralized state.

Sovereignty can be organized into four main categories. International relations theorist Stephen Krasner suggests that states may act according to interdependence sovereignty, domestic sovereignty, Westphalian sovereignty, international legal sovereignty, or any combination of the four. Krasner defines interdependence

⁴ John H. Jackson, "Sovereignty-Modern: A New Approach to an Outdated Concept." *The American Journal of International Law* 97, no. 4 (Oct., 2003): 782.

⁵ *Ibid.* 789.

⁶ Stephen D. Krasner, "Sovereignty," *Foreign Policy*, no. 122 (Jan.-Feb., 2001): 21.

⁷ Dennis A. Rondinelli, "Transnational Corporations: International Citizens or New Sovereigns?" *Business and Society Review* 107, no. 4 (2002): 392.

sovereignty as “the ability of the states to control movement across their borders,”⁸ a more foreign policy oriented approach, whereas “domestic sovereignty refers to authority structures within states and the ability of these structures to effectively regulate behavior.”⁹ The more traditionally Westphalian form of sovereignty includes both domestic and international stipulations: “Within its own boundaries the state has a monopoly over authoritative decision-making. At the international level this implies that states follow the rule of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others.”¹⁰ Finally, international legal sovereignty names states as independents and equal legal actors “capable of entering into voluntary contractual agreements.”¹¹ No overarching enforcing institution exists to govern separate nation states; in fact a complete “absence of any legitimate hierarchical source of authority¹²” exists, meaning that no one state has authority over another: all states are equal actors. This in turn creates a “world society,” which “exists in the absence of a corresponding political form.”¹³ States cooperate through voluntary actions and inter-state relations, not through an unequivocally enforced set of processes.

⁸ Stephen D. Krasner, “Abiding Sovereignty.” *International Political Science Review* 22, no. 3 (2001): 231.

⁹ *Ibid.* 231.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 232.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 233.

¹² *Ibid.* 229.

¹³ Cristoph Gorg, Joachim Hirsch. “Is International Democracy Possible?” *Review of International Political Economy* 5, no. 4 (1998): 593.

How sovereignty carries authority: questions of legitimacy and accountability

Sovereignty carries authority in different ways according to the basis for a government's legitimacy. Each actor defines sovereignty differently, however, which further complicates the issue of legitimacy. States are currently the sovereign actors, but only because people invest governments with power; citizens relinquish some control in exchange for protection and services. According to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's social contract theory, that legitimacy thus comes ultimately from the collective body of people being governed. A government that maintains control only through a monopoly of force — for example, the former Iraq (as seen by the Kurds) or the Ivory Coast (as seen by the New Forces) — has violated its contract and lost its legitimacy. The government can nevertheless remain sovereign under the current international system, however, because the state controls more power than domestic actors. Other nation-states recognize this. A government's legitimacy should therefore be based on its ability to enforce its policies as well as to maintain an effective relationship with its citizens¹⁴, not merely on recognition by other outside states. This popular foundation of legitimacy forms the truest basis of sovereignty. Non-state actors such as NGOs therefore complicate the issue of sovereignty because they do not act merely out of a desire to maintain control of a certain group of people. Rather, people create NGOs in response to specific issues that need addressing. This lends a certain aspect of legitimacy to such groups, legitimacy that the state might be lacking.

Legitimacy, although fundamental in political organization, does not necessarily correspond to accountability. Accountability does not only require equal recognition by

¹⁴ Elisabeth Jay Friedman, Kathryn Hochstetler, Ann Marie Clark. *Sovereignty, Democracy, and Global Civil Society: State-Society Relations at UN World Conferences*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005. P. 100.

others, but also entails the process “of holding individuals and organizations responsible for performance measured as objectively as possible.”¹⁵ A state institution should be accountable to those same people who legitimize its presence, but often it will be accountable only to the will of the government itself. Because the world exists in a so-called anarchic realm, one state does not necessarily hold another to account. This would require fail-proof supranational rules that currently do not exist, or at least are only guidelines for now. Indeed, with the creation of more powerful international institutions we are beginning to see examples of states being more accountable to a non-state authority, as in certain situations involving the European Union. Most multilateral institutions or international organizations (IOs), however, are not supranational, as previously mentioned, and cannot force any member to adhere to their conventions. In fact, the opposite is true. IOs exist only because states choose to participate in such groups, meaning that IOs “are accountable to officials representing them.”¹⁶ An international organization holds no inherent power by itself; if all the members decided to disband the group, they could. Instead, IOs operate on a sort of honor code, relying on each member state to obey the groups’ limits or requests, a system that “does not directly and immediately interfere with states’ internal processes of decision-making, nor does it entail restrictions on the sovereignty of Member States.”¹⁷ Some people are calling for stronger IO sovereignty to prevent situations like the Rwandan and Sudanese genocides

¹⁵ Dennis A. Rondinelli, G. Shabbir Cheema. *Reinventing Government for the Twenty-First Century: State Capacity in a Globalizing Society*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, 2003. P. 220.

¹⁶ Paul Hohnen, “Crafting the Agenda for the 21st Century.” *The OECD Observer*, no 226/227(2001): 57.

¹⁷ Magdalena M. Martin Martinez. *National Sovereignty and International Organizations*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1996. P. 215.

through stronger UN mandates that provide methods of accountability beyond economic sanctions.

With the arrival of NGOs and multinational corporations (MNCs) on the global stage, new forms of accountability are evolving as well. MNCs, for example, seek only to operate their businesses for profit and are not required to strive for any particular goals or to fulfill a government's needs.¹⁸ Corporations are beholden only to their contracts and their bottom line. NGOs, like MNCs, are not affiliated (at least officially) with any particular nation-state, however, because they represent issues and the people attached to those issues, not the state itself.¹⁹ As long as these groups do not violate government laws, they are free to pursue their own private interests. However, non-state actors have the "power of the purse," and the "voice of the people," and can use such advantages to press for government change through the citizens they represent, who arguably should possess the true power of authority. It is thus becoming more acceptable for such groups to involve themselves in areas that were formerly off-limits; norms of non-intervention "have been violated and these violations have been legitimated by other norms such as minority rights, human rights, and the need to preserve international stability."²⁰ Non-state actors thus attempt to exercise their own power by holding states accountable, an aspect of sovereignty sometimes known as "legitimacy among non-state actors."²¹ Though many such developments are in their nascent stages and operate according to sometimes radically different missions and under radically different structures, the international community has begun to recognize the growing legitimacy of non-state

¹⁸ Rondinelli, "Transnational Corporations," 405.

¹⁹ Bryer, David. "Swimming in Tandem." *World Link* 13, no. 6 (2000): 14.

²⁰ Krasner, "Abiding Sovereignty," 242.

²¹ Julie Fisher. *Nongovernments: NGOs and the Political Development of the Third World*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1998. P. 100.

actors in diplomatic, advisory, and legal agreements, even allowing non-state actors to “invoke state responsibility under specific international agreements or even under customary international law.”²² In some cases, their authority is strong enough to take states to court in order to hold them accountable.

In addition, for non-state actors to maintain authority they must appear politically neutral. By not appearing to become attached to one state political entity or another, NGOs especially are able to keep their autonomy—issues, not political ties, are the basis of these groups. Their motivations come from the desire to provide services to people that the government cannot or will not provide. In their own minds, their actions are governed by “rationality and for the greater common good.”²³ Popularly-based programs can be more effective than politicized ones and ensure that NGOs remain accountable to issues rather than parties, to goals rather than profits. Autonomy also helps encourage NGOs “toward proactivity, allowing them to strategize while simultaneously responding to the political context that confronts them.”²⁴ As a result, thousands of NGOs appear at UN conferences every year to offer knowledge and advice. The organizations use their expertise to advise states, IOs, and MNCs, helping to guide their actions or to challenge them when the state’s actions are harmful.

The process of change: globalization’s effects on sovereignty

Historical norms and strict terms of centralized power are changing. The advent of globalization, privatization, stakeholder economic systems (through informal associations rather than share-values), and international human rights are changing the

²² Weiss 816.

²³ Boas 45.

²⁴ Fisher 106.

way that states interact with each other. Globalization and increasing levels of technology make it more difficult for states to control the cultural and political influence of outside actors, and have made states more dependant on one another economically. Also, new economic processes and a refreshed concern for international human rights encourage states to intervene in one another's affairs, either directly or through non-state actors, whether those be multilateral institutions like the United Nations or smaller topic-driven groups like NGOs.

Beyond being fueled by simple technological progress and the business world's trend toward outsourcing, globalization is a process which lowers artificial barriers between global actors, leading to greater political, cultural, and economic openness.²⁵ Theorists are interested in this phenomenon, frequently addressing it in popular media and scholarly articles. Researchers speculate primarily about globalization's effects on international politics, economics, and defense roles. Regardless of its origins or its complex effects, globalization has clearly had an enormous impact on how states relate to one another. The phenomenon truly began to have profound and rapidly growing consequences in the early 1990s after the end of the Cold War, during which the Soviets organized planned economic communities within the Communist sphere.²⁶ The subsequent lack of control of information by the state, and inventions such as e-mail and cell phones, as well as satellite information and rapid business outsourcing, are creating a more global community, a global civil society which exists beyond that of national citizenry.

²⁵ Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2003. P. 9.

²⁶ James P. Muldoon, Jr, Joann Fagot Aviel, Richard Reitano, Earl Sullivan, ed. *Multilateral Diplomacy and the United Nations Today*. Oxford: Westview Press, 1999. P. 80.

Information technology and the organizations that utilize such technology have brought products, politics, news, and many other issues directly to the popular level, completely bypassing the national government as an intermediary. The direct supply of goods and services puts pressure on the government, which cannot always compete by delivering the same commodities. Nation-states thus find themselves “with new responsibilities but without the capacity to manage them effectively.”²⁷ Limited budgets are part of the problem, because “neither national nor local governments in most countries have sufficient budgetary resources to extend services and infrastructure or to subsidize inefficient state enterprises or agencies.”²⁸ In addition to having limited national budgets for the provision of services, so-called developing countries often do not have the financial capabilities to deal in international markets: “nation-states cannot regulate effectively in the globalized economy, and this inability is particularly relevant to economic factors that are global and mobile (investment, monetary payments, and monetary policy, and even free movement of persons).”²⁹

The process of globalization and the subsequent power of non-state actors emerge from conditions of financial constraint present especially in Third World and developing countries, but also though perhaps less noticeably in developed countries. When governments cannot provide services to their citizens, the population can turn to private corporations and NGOs to do the job for them. Often these groups are more efficient and knowledgeable; their specialized abilities and “the spread of democracy and technological change has made the activities of non-governmental organizations which

²⁷ Donald Kettl, “The Transformation of Governance: Globalization, Devolution, and the Role of Government,” *Public Administration Review* 60, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec., 2000): 488.

²⁸ Rondinelli “Reinventing Government,” 220.

²⁹ Jackson 799.

operate both within and across countries more salient.”³⁰ Governments can find these relations helpful, if sometimes unnerving, and in the last ten years “new forms of cooperation have emerged, ranging from global, multi-stakeholder initiatives to operational partnerships in individual countries and communities.”³¹ Influential state and non-state associations are therefore a clear factor in the future of international relations, and must be examined more closely to understand the role of non-states.

³⁰ Krasner, “Abiding Sovereignty,” 246.

³¹ Boas 143.

III. The Roles of Outside Parties in Relation to States

The roles of NGOs: their relationships to states and each other

Outside parties are profoundly re-shaping traditionally sovereign entities. Liberal thinkers in international relations theory hold that there have always been and should be a myriad of influential players on the world stage besides the simple nation-state unit. Liberals have encouraged those groups' interactions as an avenue toward peace. The Realist school of thought, on the other hand, believes that the world operates in an anarchic system because each state seeks power and security above all else. That complete internal state control has no systemic external superior to moderate the state's power. Realism holds true in that there is no truly effective institutionalized over-arching authority whose power supersedes that of all nation-states. Yet globalization finally vindicates liberals' confidence in non-state actors' power as these actors begin to fill more structured roles in world politics. A more benign liberal view of human nature argues that actors find greater success through cooperation and mutual support. We see this most clearly in the rise of international groups such as the United Nations and the European Union—groups that offer methods of enforcing international agreements besides the simple military invasion of one country by another.

In some cases nation-states feel threatened by this sometimes forced cooperation with non-state actors because it emphasizes the external players' role in international affairs, showing strong evidence for a link between the growing strength of such organizations and their overt abilities due to contemporary globalization.³² They believe,

³² Craig N. Murphy, "Global Governance: Poorly Done and Poorly Understood," *International Affairs (Royal Institution of International Affairs 1944-)* 76, no. 4 (Oct., 2000): 796.

perhaps rightly, that multi-national corporations (MNCs) and NGOs are replacing government in a number of sectors. The power of such non-state actors, however, can be difficult to detect. As NGOs typically do not possess military force, they rely on the power of influence, a concept often referred to as soft power. Soft power is less readily discernable, and in this case completely de-centralized, but an important factor in international relations. Some theorists find a paradoxical nature in potential developments, saying, “a crucial determinant for the future of the multilateral institutions will therefore be the future of globalisation. Conversely, continued globalisation is dependant on these institutions.”³³ We are witnessing a revolutionary role of non-state actors due to globalization, which in turn drives globalization even further. Though the paths traveled by soft power can be difficult to trace, they are nonetheless emerging as a predominant form of commerce and communication. In his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, *New York Times* correspondent Thomas Friedman argues that “Because globalization has brought down many of the walls that limited the movement and reach of people, and because it has simultaneously wired the world into networks, it gives more power to individuals to influence both markets and nation-states than at any time in history.”³⁴

Some theorists recognize the limits of nation-state governments in the face of globalization, such as poor infrastructures or small national budgets, but also believe that globalization could not occur or be effectively implemented without the presence of centralized governments. Theorist Dennis Rondinelli believes “governments have an important role in creating economic, social, and political conditions that make their

³³ Boas 139.

³⁴ Friedman 512.

countries attractive as locations for domestic and foreign investment and enhance their private sectors' abilities to participate in international trade."³⁵ Businesses interact with one another across borders and governments, but government regulates the field in which such interactions take place. The state's purpose is to "set the rules of the game and to protect vulnerable groups from the ill effects of market failures."³⁶ Others believe that "the nation-state continues to be a precondition of globalization,³⁷" creating a situation in which "states are essential actors within globalization processes and through this involvement help to create the conditions for their self-transformation."³⁸ Emerging active non-state entities rely on functioning governments for their existence.

Globalization necessitates the interactions between state and non-state actors, it cannot be one-sided, because, according to such theorists, the process is driven by non-state actors, but grounded in state institutions. There is no world government that designates roles for any specific group, so globalization currently runs unguided as a competition between the groups involved, and while nation-states might be necessary to facilitate globalization, they cannot give it any direction.³⁹

Non-state actors are emerging in realms that people have long considered off-limits to anyone but the government, the ownership of force being a notable example. Governments' control over the practice and maintenance of armies is diminishing as some national militaries fall into capitalist dependence on privatized military movements;

³⁵ Rondinelli, "Reinventing Government," 9.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 36.

³⁷ Gorg 585.

³⁸ Gorg 588.

³⁹ Hohnen, 57, Stiglitz 21.

we face “the present breakup of this public monopoly of the military profession,”⁴⁰” which is simultaneously a huge expansion of all our previously conceived notions regarding limits on sovereignty. Peter Singer is wary of this development. He states, “The new privatized military also means that state and nonstate actors alike now can access military capabilities formerly exclusive to strong states. Where state structures are weak, the result is a direct challenge to the local basis of sovereign authority.”⁴¹ If governments can no longer defend themselves without reliance on services from the private sector, they lose a great amount of strength and control.

Globalization and stronger non-state actors have also affected government positions in private sector economic policy. Many scholars have begun discussing the decline of shareholder economics, in which companies base decisions on what is best for their shareholders and success is determined by the value and number of shares one possesses. Shareholders seek success through increased profit in their corporation or industry. Stakeholders, on the other hand, do not necessarily hold ownership, but seek success in a group in order to benefit their general well being. Stakeholders may be citizens, NGOs with specific agendas, or businesses, banks, and insurance companies. In any given circumstance, a stakeholder’s power to influence may be tied to and limited by the size of its economic clout, but any party with a stake in the outcome of an endeavor can affect economic processes through informal rapport with others.⁴² Stakeholders provide the basis for a new international form of business that “is increasingly about

⁴⁰ P.W. Singer, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*. Ithaca: Cornell University, 2003.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 170.

⁴² Carla C. J. M. Millar, Chong Ju Choi, Stephen Chen. “Global Strategic Partnerships between MNEs and NGOs: Drivers of Change and Ethical Issues.” *Business and Society Review* 109, no. 4 (2004): 399.

collective ‘ownership’ among MNCs, states, and NGOs.”⁴³ Stakeholder economics can also increase civic engagement and encourages local, citizen-based groups to participate in projects that will directly affect them.⁴⁴ A stakeholder system can build positive relationships and encourage interdependence, eventually lowering “the cost of establishing and maintaining increasingly complex, physically dispersed networks of suppliers, franchisees, agents, and staff.”⁴⁵ This new form of international business allows for participation of all groups on all levels in a way shareholder economics does not; it is less exclusive and thus more efficient in meeting varying global demands. Most NGOs and multilateral organizations advocate a relationship-based system of “stakeholder processes,” which “offer the opportunity of converting vicious circles into virtuous ones, by committing a wide field of expertise to finding solutions to specific challenges.”⁴⁶ Governments in turn realize that, through increased civic engagement, stakeholders can more readily hold governments accountable.⁴⁷ This civic engagement may take the form of legislative monitoring, lobbying efforts, voter participation, or contributions to political campaigns, among other things. Stakeholder influence can then lead to better or more informed policy-making, and more effective implementation of those policies.⁴⁸

Besides globalization’s effects on economics, the process is affecting the international citizenry through the emergence of a world civil society. Civil society is “a

⁴³ *Ibid.* 400.

⁴⁴ Rondinelli, “Reinventing Government,” 145.

⁴⁵ David Lewis, Tina Wallace, ed. *New Roles and Relevance: Development NGOs and the Challenge of Change*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, 2000. P. 45.

⁴⁶ Hohnen 59.

⁴⁷ Rondinelli, “Reinventing Government,” 146.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 153.

realm of voluntary association, more or less autonomous from state and market.”⁴⁹ As the process of globalization allows more openness between people internationally, it fosters a perceived global identity. That perception in turn leads to international civil society, in which stakeholder economics and NGOs help citizens “act both above and below the levels of traditional national politics.”⁵⁰ Theorists have long considered civil society a fundamental part of good governance; it demands transparency and participation to help hold state government responsible for their policies.⁵¹ Besides building political accountability, civil society “builds social and human capital” and improves “inadequate public services provided by their governments.”⁵² Former President Bill Clinton believes that the established concept of civil society is an important supplement to globalization, and that people must be allowed to create “partnerships that transcend national and regional borders.”⁵³ The politics of grassroots movements and public protests will not survive on its own⁵⁴, and it is here that NGOs find their role. NGOs can act as a voice for citizens, “offering some support for the existence of a global civil society pressing for representation of its interests and values in international governmental diplomacy.”⁵⁵ In democratic countries, citizens theoretically voice their interests through voting and representative leaders, but there is little or no venue for citizens in non-democratic states. Internationally, NGOs, MNCs, and multi-lateral institutions can become a forum for people’s concerns, acting as mediators between one

⁴⁹ Friedman 16.

⁵⁰ Murphy 796.

⁵¹ Stephen N. Ndegwa, *The Two Faces of Civil Society: NGOs and Politics in Africa*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1996. P. 15.

⁵² Tom Arnold, “Catalysts for Change.” *Global Agenda*, no. 2 (Jan. 2004): 87.

⁵³ Bill Clinton, “Power Beyond Politics.” *New Perspectives Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (2005): 47.

⁵⁴ Boas 149.

⁵⁵ Friedman 65.

government and another, and between people and their governments⁵⁶, leading to the creation of a global civil society that many see as the future of international politics.

It is not possible to talk about global civil society without discussing ideas of “global governance” and “good governance,” because all three topics are interrelated and interdependent. At the moment, the world operates without an overarching authority to manage relations between states, NGOs, MNCs, and multilateral institutions, yet global civil society exists. The result is a system that Stiglitz calls “global governance without global government.”⁵⁷ It would not be possible for one nation-state to fill this role, so we have instead an international system with gaps that must be filled; non-state actors have the ability “to perform government-like functions in the absence of a centralized government authority.”⁵⁸ One huge global power does not take advantage of the power vacuum, but smaller, specialized groups such as multilateral institutions do instead. This is an essential move, because, “for the first time these institutions adopted policy positions on issues that could be seen as challenging one of the key elements in the international system: namely the idea of national sovereignty.”⁵⁹

NGOs are especially important in the role as mediator between citizens, states, and other international groups. They now serve a more structural role in international relations, using their expertise to bring attention to ground-level issues at a global level, or between individual countries. These groups can also serve as a link to businesses by providing them with “social capital, knowledge of local, grassroot customs, and local

⁵⁶ Fisher 11.

⁵⁷ Stiglitz 22.

⁵⁸ Roland Paris. “Broadening the Study of Peace Operations.” *International Studies Review* 2, no. 3 (2000): 34.

⁵⁹ Boas 110.

knowledge networks,” bringing MNCs into more knowledgeable, active positions.⁶⁰ Between countries, NGOs aid “the transfer of institutional knowledge,⁶¹” helping to share ideas about successful structure, development, and peacekeeping methods. Finally, NGOs are now widely accepted as policy advisors and advocates, appearing at United Nations summits, meetings of the European and African Unions, as well as numerous other inter-governmental conventions.

A wide range of diversity determines NGOs’ goals and functions. Since World War II, international cooperation has been a staple of interstate relations⁶², and NGOs have acted as a supplement to that internationality, providing services such as medical care, education, and development aid. Recently though, NGOs like Amnesty International have also been filling the “role of advisor, either to the government or to many competent local organizations that now exist.”⁶³ They continue to work on projects at the grassroots level, but fill a complementary role as well, assisting nation-states in the process of policy making through research, a wide diffusion of knowledge, and by lobbying politicians.⁶⁴ Their participation is limited, however, and “their power to affect a country’s domestic affairs has been limited when compared to governments, international organizations, and multinational corporations.”⁶⁵ NGOs are visible and effective on a practical level in weak states such as Somalia where governments are no longer capable of providing basic necessary services to its population. Often NGO actions in such situations cause tension between NGOs and the state, because “NGO

⁶⁰ Millar 402.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 397.

⁶² Martinez 63.

⁶³ Arnold 87.

⁶⁴ Gorg 605.

⁶⁵ Krasner, “Sovereignty,” 26.

activities that overshadow the state tend to be viewed as direct challenges to the ‘imperatives of statehood’—territorial hegemony, security, autonomy, legitimacy, and revenue.”⁶⁶

NGOs do not always act in cooperation with business, international organizations, or government, however. Some international businesses feel targeted and blamed by idealist activism groups for their potentially destructive actions in developing countries. Meanwhile, NGOs shy away from the idea of working in conjunction with MNCs because such confederation may destroy the NGOs’ political neutrality or “taint” their ideals.⁶⁷ Multilateral institutions are wary of giving NGOs too much power in international relations, while at the same time NGOs do not have faith in the stability of those institutions. Despite the establishment of NGOs as advisors to groups like the UN, “many are still convinced that multilateral institutions are basically unreliable.”⁶⁸ Finally, nation-states often feel that NGOs encroach upon issues that had previously been considered domestic affairs, “indeed, some political leaders assume that nongovernmental means antigovernmental.”⁶⁹ No current form of negotiation exists between these groups apart from independent, voluntary partnerships, and, thus, competition for power increases as sovereignty slips away from its traditional place and everyone attempts to readjust positions.

While it may not seem that businesses have a direct relationship to state governments (at least constitutionally), multi- or transnational corporations hold a crucial

⁶⁶ Ndegwa 21.

⁶⁷ Millar 406.

⁶⁸ Boas 125.

⁶⁹ Fisher 40.

position in international relations; they help define international capitalism. Rondinelli states that there are three ways in which MNCs play an important role:

First, in supplanting or supplementing government and multilateral organization foreign aid programs through philanthropy; second, in international standard-setting and voluntary participation in self-regulation and private certification arrangements on social, human rights, and environmental issues; and third, in framing and shaping international policies both inside and outside of the conventional processes of government decision-making.⁷⁰

As previously mentioned, businesses in the private sector can often provide goods and services faster and cheaper than governments, but because of this they have a large effect on national sovereignty. Governments have a difficult time creating and imposing “guidelines for social responsibility,⁷¹” and some believe that corporate citizenship claims a higher loyalty than national citizenship, a situation that can undermine national sovereignty.⁷² MNCs can provide valuable services to governments and NGOs, but often are accountable and loyal to themselves above anyone else, in the quest for profit.

In a capitalist economy, multinational corporations hold the true power of the purse; they are therefore powerful allies and terrible irritations. MNCs tend to get along better with governments than with NGOs. Companies and the state sometimes join together through public-private partnerships; governments gain services and infrastructure as corporations receive commercial opportunities for growth and expansion.⁷³ Working with NGOs can aid international businesses, lending valuable knowledge about the social and cultural atmosphere in a certain country, and usually giving a stronger impression of legitimacy as well. In turn, working with corporations is

⁷⁰ Rondinelli, “Transnational Corporations,” 394.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 403.

⁷² *Ibid.* 401.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 233.

good for NGOs because it “will enhance the NGOs’ ability to gain public support and to follow on with further relationships with businesses.”⁷⁴ Corporations and NGOs are usually at odds, however, because corporations are seen as part of the state system that NGOs so often want to fight or change. MNCs and governments can become so intertwined that the businesses possess more power than the state, so NGOs “become vital intermediaries in seeking to address the balance.”⁷⁵

Multilateral or international organizations (IOs) were introduced as functioning institutions after World War II. Although their methods are somewhat outdated, many of them are still in operation today.⁷⁶ These groups act as forums for governments to come together in an effort to seek cooperation and regulation of international affairs. Some of the most well known groups include the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the European Union. This last institution differs from the others in that it is not merely international, but supranational—the European Union has the ability in certain situations to enforce its policies on any and all members regardless of their complacency. The onset of international organizations has required a slow decentralization of nation-state governments, coupled with modifications of the traditional ideas of national sovereignty.⁷⁷ While states do voluntarily participate in such groups’ actions, most IOs do not have the executive power to enforce their rules and regulations. All international organizations rely on their member-states for existence and are therefore “ultimately beholden to their member states, especially those member states

⁷⁴ Millar 403.

⁷⁵ Millar 405-406.

⁷⁶ Hohnen 58.

⁷⁷ Martinez 66.

with substantial resources, but officials within IOs can act on their own within sometimes broad mandates.”⁷⁸

Most groups in these three categories (NGOs, MNCs, and IOs) recognize the significance of the others and attempt to work multilaterally, though not always amicably. So far, there does not seem to be a defined manner in which these groups interact, but IR theorists are beginning to see the development of what some call “the partnership model,” a system of recognized and voluntary reliance among organizations that focuses on cooperation and efficiency. The clearest and most important method of partnership stems from the system of networks that NGOs and IOs provide⁷⁹, linking people, governments, and businesses together to help them make necessary connections. Increased communication allows “governments, NGOs, and [M]NCs to apply checks and balances that reduce the potential of any of the major participants in the global economy to abuse their power or shirk their legitimate social responsibilities.”⁸⁰ Most governments still hold on to stricter nation-state ideas of sovereignty and must be mindful of a fair balance between partners; these governments “cannot and should not try to resolve certain emerging global issues alone, but should do so in the context of collective debate and resolution for action.”⁸¹ At the same time, interdependence must have limits on interference to insure effective internal governance.⁸² Only in respecting each group’s valid contributions to global society can these international social institutions effectively manage the challenges of globalization.⁸³

⁷⁸ Krasner, “Abiding Sovereignty,” 246.

⁷⁹ Arnold 88.

⁸⁰ Rondinelli, “Transnational Corporations,” 410.

⁸¹ Friedman 157.

⁸² Jackson 784.

⁸³ Clinton 47.

IV. A Case Study: Nigeria and AIDS.

The Nigerian government's reaction to HIV/AIDS.

Though theories suggest distinct trends in international relations, it is important to examine how such changes function in reality. By exploring the issue through an in-depth case study, we can further explain the utility of non-state actors and the practical role they play internationally. I am most interested in sovereignty as pertaining to groups who derive their legitimacy directly from the people most involved in a country's situation. Therefore, NGOs—specifically grassroots organizations—are the most appropriate subject for my project. The case study must simultaneously act at local, national, and international levels to demonstrate its effectiveness; I sought a group that is active as a localized grassroots movement as well as having a national presence, participating in the international network of non-state actors that has been created through globalization. The Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA) fits these criteria. The group illustrates the institutional impacts of globalization, namely the transfer of information and services from one group to many others across systemic levels. This process happens beyond the realm of the state, omitting the government as an intermediary. When compared to some state programs within the varying realms of governance, such groups can supplement government activity, providing resources and knowledge that the government might otherwise be lacking. This is especially true of issues that do not define a government or threaten its existence. An examination of the Nigerian government's struggling efforts to deal with AIDS demonstrates the valuable assistance that NGOs like ECWA can provide.

The Nigerian government's projects to combat HIV/AIDS are limited, but in recent years they have made attempts to increase their abilities. 1986 saw the first reported case of AIDS in Nigeria; there are now nearly four million infected Nigerians.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, creating programs to manage HIV/AIDS issues did not become a high priority until 1999 when a new government was established. At present, however, the federal Nigerian AIDS agenda incorporates prevention, treatment, care, and support activities.⁸⁵ The two largest programs currently operating under the government are the National Action Committee on AIDS (NACA), and the National AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Disease Control Program (NASCP).⁸⁶ Both programs seek to adhere to "The Three Ones," an approach to HIV/AIDS, advocated by UNAIDS and requiring a country to endorse "one agreed HIV/AIDS Action Framework that provides the basis for coordinating the work of all partners, one National AIDS Coordinating Authority, with a broad-based multisectoral mandate, and one agreed country-level Monitoring and Evaluation System."⁸⁷

NACA, the executive political body of the Nigerian government's anti-AIDS efforts, functions at national, state, and local levels. Its administrators report directly to the President of Nigeria and President's AIDS Council, also known as PAC.⁸⁸ NACA acts as the head of a complex network of committees that gather and review information on Nigeria's actions in fighting the virus, and coordinate the government's efforts in

⁸⁴ HIV/AIDS National Strategic Framework for Action (2005-2009), *National Action Committee on AIDS*. URL: <http://www.naca.gov.ng/>; P i.

⁸⁵ Nigeria: Rapid Assessment of HIV/AIDS Care in the Public and Private Sectors, Partners for Health Reform*plus* (August 2004): xxiii.

⁸⁶ Rapid Assessment 2.

⁸⁷ The Three Ones, UNAIDS. URL: http://data.unaids.org/UNA-docs/Three-Ones_KeyPrinciples_en.pdf (February 2007): 1.

⁸⁸ NACA Strategic Framework 1.3

those areas.⁸⁹ The national committee also makes use of its three-tiered—national, state, and local—system to represent stakeholders involved with HIV/AIDS programs.⁹⁰ Some of the information gathered by NACA suggested the need for a more comprehensive approach, and so in 1997 the committee implemented the National Policy on HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Diseases, “which represented a new approach based on the involvement of all sectors of society in planning, implementation, and evaluation of the country’s response.”⁹¹

The Federal Ministry of Health also manages the HIV/AIDS issue in Nigeria through the National AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Disease Control Program (NASCP). Their responsibilities, like those of NACA, also remain mostly within the administrative purview of combating HIV. In addition to coordinating stakeholder involvement in the process, NASCP provides “training and technical support to state and local government AIDS control programs, health care facilities, and development partners.”⁹² Finally, NASCP is charged with the government’s obtaining antiretroviral (ARV) drugs to be used in the Ministry of Health’s treatment program.⁹³ This process can take about five to six weeks, and depends on cooperation from the Nigerian Ministry of Finance, as well as donor companies from whom NASCP receive ARV drugs. The government program works mostly with two international pharmaceutical companies named Ranbaxy and Cipla, though they also receive assistance from such groups as the

⁸⁹ NACA Strategic Framework 2.0

⁹⁰ NACA Strategic Framework 3.1.1,

⁹¹ Rapid Assessment 2.

⁹² Rapid Assessment 2.

⁹³ Rapid Assessment 2.

World Health Organization, the POLICY Project (a population and development organization), and UNAIDS.⁹⁴

While the Nigerian government's efforts at creating a comprehensive HIV/AIDS program have satisfied UNAIDS requirements for "The Three Ones,"⁹⁵ the current situation still leaves much room for improvement. Information shows that structurally there is limited communication between NASCP and the corresponding federal government health care facilities. In addition, there is no functional system for the distribution of information and services, leading to the need for the program's decentralization.⁹⁶ Though the Federal Ministry of Health has pledged to work with NGOs and other private sector groups to address health issues, cooperation is low and "public-private sector partnerships are virtually non-existent... the majority of private sites do not receive any form of support from the government."⁹⁷ Finally, federal programs face the same difficulties as do many private sector programs, namely a lack of sufficient funding, training, and human resources to completely reach all levels of activity.⁹⁸

The Nigerian government acknowledges the need for assistance from NGOs like ECWA in dealing with the current health crisis. The AIDS pandemic is a destabilizing factor for many African governments as country leaders struggle to find the financial and medical resources to care for the disease-stricken population. Globalization, however,

⁹⁴ Rapid Assessment 10, 15

⁹⁵ Nigeria, *UNAIDS*. URL: http://www.unaids.org/en/Regions_Countries/Countries/nigeria.asp (February 2007).

⁹⁶ Rapid Assessment 9

⁹⁷ Rapid Assessment 22

⁹⁸ The Emergency Plan in Nigeria, *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*. URL: <http://www.cdc.gov/nchstp/od/gap/countries/nigeria.htm> (February 2007).

has introduced governments to the recognition that NGOs have much to contribute,⁹⁹ which is especially true in regards to health care:

Government officials are now aware that the world's largest NGOs actually provide more aid than do some donor governments. NGOs are active in more countries than many governments, and they carry more credibility with tax-payers than do government aid agencies. Indeed, some individual NGOs have country programmes with larger budgets than the government ministries to which they relate.¹⁰⁰

The Nigerian government is among the governments that acknowledge the need to accept aid from NGOs, especially in the realm of health care. The Nigerian Ministry of Health includes among its partners “public and private health sector facilities, development partners and the NGOs in the health sector, and the civil society.”¹⁰¹ Though government programs provide a basis for a national movement to combat AIDS, the problem is too vast for any one organization to handle alone. The government can provide some administrative structure to the national program, but they must also cooperate with various MNCs, namely pharmaceutical companies, to obtain necessary supplies. Additionally, NGOs and multilateral organizations offer expertise on the subject, as well as financial and labor resources.

⁹⁹ Elizabeth Ferris, “Faith-Based and Secular Humanitarian Organizations,” *International Review of the Red Cross* 87, no. 858 (June 2005): 312.

¹⁰⁰ Ferris 311, quoting Ian Smillie and Larry Minear, *The Charity of Nations*, Kumarian Press, Inc, Bloomfield, USA, 2004.

¹⁰¹ Federal Ministry of Health, *Nigeria Direct*. URL: http://www.nigeria.gov.ng/fed_min_health.aspx (November 2006).

The Evangelical Church of West Africa: Programming and Networking

Because the AIDS problem is too far-reaching for the government to handle alone, ECWA's AIDS ministry has stepped in to offer additional aid to local Nigerians. Religious organizations similar to ECWA have a long history of taking on the burden of health care, but many of these historical organizations have changed significantly over time. Firstly, contemporary social services groups are to a large degree free of their dependence on government funding and authority, so they can behave more autonomously. Also, recent technological innovation affords these groups more transparency. For example, people around the globe are able to participate indirectly in the struggle against AIDS through various media, an experience that increases both fear of the disease and sympathy in the struggle against it as people begin to identify themselves more as world citizens, not only citizens of their own countries. ECWA fits the model of a religious organization that has evolved over time and has emerged as a typical player in this new global network.

ECWA is based in Jos, Nigeria, and was founded in 1954 as a conglomeration of several churches in the region. The Church was originally based in the Serving in Mission program (SIM) during the first half of the twentieth century, but soon after the creation of ECWA, all related services came under ECWA's leadership. That process was complete by 1976. ECWA offers centers for missions, Bible and academic schools (including eight seminaries), and medical programs. There are approximately five million members located all over the country, worshipping at local churches and

participating in programs sponsored by the national headquarters in Jos. The group also publishes a large amount of literature through ECWA Productions Limited.¹⁰²

Because the AIDS problem is too vast for the government to handle alone, ECWA's TEAM ministry has stepped in to aid local Nigerians. Founded in 1997, TEAM is small compared to the multinational programs offered by such groups as the International Red Cross or the World Health Organization.¹⁰³ The group's existence does however demonstrate local recognition of the AIDS problem, and the following attempts to address that problem, rather than relying on the government to provide for it. Using the ECWA church network, the group's first services focused mostly on awareness and prevention, conducting 300 seminars in three years which included 50,000 Nigerians. TEAM later began counseling and care programs in 2000.¹⁰⁴ They offer counseling and counselor training, as well as home care and orphan care for people infected with HIV/AIDS¹⁰⁵, using hospitals and other ECWA health care facilities.¹⁰⁶

Because ECWA is a religious organization, the group can offer unique counselling services that are often more effective. The AIDS pandemic is vast, and can damage countries socially, economically, emotionally, and spiritually.¹⁰⁷ The church

¹⁰² SIM Country Profile: Nigeria, *Serving in Mission*. URL: <http://www.sim.org/country.asp?fun=1&CID=1> (November 2006).

¹⁰³ The ECWA AIDS Ministry (TEAM), *Compendium of Christian Projects Addressing the Diseases of Poverty*. URL: <http://www.ccih.org/resources/compendium,ECWA%20HIVAIDS.html> (October 2006).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ About Us, *The ECWA AIDS Ministry*. URL: <http://www.ecwa-team.com/about%20us.htm> (January 2007).

¹⁰⁶ *Compendium of Christian Projects*.

¹⁰⁷ Rev. Isa Bello, *HIV/AIDS Prevention, Counselling and Support in the Church: A Paper from The Evangelical Church of West Africa AIDS Ministry* (TEAM), Presentation during the round table on "The Role of Religious Leaders and Faith-based Organizations in the Fight Against HIV/AIDS" organized in the framework of the International Congress on the Dialogue of Civilisations, Religions and Cultures (held in Abuja, Nigeria, 15-17 December 2003). Text translated/adapted from original French version. P. 1.

offers a large network that can easily reach many people of all social and economic stations. Counsellors are also equipped with the ability to assist people emotionally and spiritually, using Christianity to offer hope and support to those living with HIV/AIDS.¹⁰⁸ TEAM also hopes, through its counselling and awareness programs, to remove the stigma that often accompanies HIV infections. In a paper on TEAM and the importance of involving the church, Rev. Isa Farma Bello, Coordinator of the ECWA AIDS ministry, stated, “a slogan such as ‘they are getting what they deserve as a punishment for their sins’ is the spoken or unspoken judgment... This attitude needs to be changed. The church has to be at the forefront in the fight against HIV/AIDS. It can do much to change people’s attitudes towards those living with HIV/AIDS, and thus reduce the stigma attached to the disease.”¹⁰⁹

The ECWA AIDS counselling services are comprehensive, and include pre-test, post-test, preventive, spiritual, decision-making, couple, and follow-up counselling.¹¹⁰ They also offer voluntary counselling and testing. Through their Training of Trainers program, TEAM teaches pastors and other leaders in the church effective counselling skills that they can use in their congregations and local communities. They developed a Training Guide based on statistics and counselling information from, among others, the World Health Organization, UNAIDS, International HIV/AIDS Alliance, and a number of Christian authors. The program begins by explaining common facts as well as methods of prevention for HIV and AIDS, preparing counsellors to deal with problems specifically pertaining to people living with the virus. Counsellors also learn to prepare

¹⁰⁸ Bello 1.

¹⁰⁹ Bello 2.

¹¹⁰ Counseling: The ECWA AIDS Ministry (TEAM) Practices, *The ECWA AIDS Ministry*. URL: <http://www.ecwa-team.com/counseling.htm> (January 2007).

people before testing, how to support people through their reactions to HIV/AIDS, to assist them through the disclosure process, care for them emotionally and spiritually throughout the extent of the disease, and to support those dealing with the grief following a death caused by the virus.¹¹¹ By equipping leaders in the ECWA network to deal with the effects of HIV in their home communities, the program thus becomes much more expansive and sustainable.¹¹²

TEAM's Home Care services are a combination of both counselling and medical care. The AIDS Ministry group believes that the church has a responsibility to take care of the members in its community, and also that the idea of home care is culturally supported by family and social values in Nigerian culture. Home care allows people who are infected with the virus to stay in a more comfortable environment where they can feel safe; the service is also more practical financially as many families cannot afford to house infected people long-term at a hospital, and hospitals cannot afford long-term treatments on location. People trained in care-giving visit home-based patients to offer counselling and support.¹¹³ The AIDS ministry project also helps provide some drugs to patients and "ensure proper adherence of the treatment therapies for HIV."¹¹⁴ Finally, care givers may provide food supplied by the church for those patients most in need.¹¹⁵

A separate but related matter is the church's care of orphans due to HIV-related illnesses. ECWA provides for both medical and non-medical needs for many of these

¹¹¹ Training of Trainers Manual, *The ECWA AIDS Ministry*. URL: <http://www.ecwa-team.com/training.htm> (January 2007).

¹¹² Bello 3.

¹¹³ Home Based Care, *The ECWA AIDS Ministry*. URL: <http://www.ecwa-team.com/home%20care.htm> (January 2007).

¹¹⁴ Susan Bertrand, "Electronic Correspondence with Susan Bertrand," questions by Maggie Saylor (11 January 2007).

¹¹⁵ Home Based Care.

children, including education (by paying school fees), feeding (supplying food or formula for orphans), and referrals to other non-government groups that might provide other services for the orphans that the church cannot. The AIDS ministry also provides the same home care services to orphans as to other AIDS victims—support and counselling, drugs, and health monitoring. TEAM trains care-givers to begin caring for children as soon as possible after the parent has been infected, rather than attempting to build relationships after the parent has died. Care-givers aid parents in disclosing HIV status to their children, promote community awareness of children that need help, educate communities against the stigma set on AIDS orphans, assist with income generating activities for those caring for newly-orphaned children, and any other services available.¹¹⁶

The ECWA AIDS ministry program seeks to actively assist Nigerians who are living with HIV/AIDS, but, by offering seminars and educational programs, they also hope to prevent the virus from spreading further. Rev. Bello presented on TEAM's AIDS awareness programs at the International Congress of Dialogue on Civilisations, Religions, and Cultures held Abuja, Nigeria by UNESCO. There he spoke about the many seminars and conferences that TEAM has held in the country. Attendance at these programs has increased significantly in recent years, aided by the Training of Trainers program that reinforces the ideas behind HIV/AIDS prevention and care long-term in local communities after the principle awareness program has finished. The group has

¹¹⁶ Orphan Care, *The ECWA AIDS Ministry*. URL: <http://www.ecwa-team.com/orphan%20care.htm> (January 2007).

also begun efforts to promote AIDS awareness in primary and secondary schools with programs specially designed for children.¹¹⁷

Besides TEAM's work preparing counsellors throughout all of the regions where ECWA churches are located, ECWA also offers a testing and counselling unit in Jos, Nigeria called Spring of Life. Spring of Life is located on the grounds of the ECWA Evangel Hospital, though the program is not actually connected with the hospital except to benefit from the resources the facilities have to offer those suffering with HIV/AIDS. The Evangel Hospital receives assistance from the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), "a U.S. government plan for distributing ARVs (Anti Retro Viral Drugs)."¹¹⁸ In conjunction with the PEPFAR program, Spring of Life offers "counselling and testing for HIV and monitoring HIV positive people at home."¹¹⁹ Spring of Life counsellors will also visit HIV-infected individuals at home to monitor their progress with the ARVs and to supervise their general health. At times, counsellors will refer people to Evangel for more intense medical care.¹²⁰

Obtaining drugs to treat HIV/AIDS patients can be difficult and costly for small or poor governments. NGOs like ECWA can bypass the diplomatic problems that can arise between pharmaceutical companies and political groups; ECWA and the Evangel Hospital manage to provide such treatments at little or no cost to the patient. Though the group originally had a direct arrangement with a company called Abbott Labs, a

¹¹⁷ "The Role of Religious Leaders and Faith-based Organizations in the Fight Against HIV/AIDS" organized in the framework of the *International Congress on the Dialogue of Civilisations, Religions and Cultures* (held in Abuja, Nigeria, 15-17 December 2003), ed. Ikeogu Oke (University of Nigeria, Nsukka) p. 109.

¹¹⁸ Deane Valkenaar, "Electronic Correspondence with Deane Valkenaar," questions by Maggie Saylor (9 January 2007).

¹¹⁹ Valkenaar, 9 January 2007.

¹²⁰ Valkenaar, 9 January 2007.

multinational corporation which donated some drugs and test kits,¹²¹ the PEPFAR program now provides for the program's medical needs. Because PEPFAR is an American government sponsored program, the drugs are shipped directly from the U.S. to the ECWA hospital in Jos, where those working with the project ensure that the drugs are delivered in the correct time and order to the people they treat.¹²²

Because their AIDS ministry is non-governmental, ECWA has needed to find other financial resources to fund their programming. The Church is still affiliated in many ways with its parent organization, SIM, and receives some assistance from that group. SIM and ECWA maintain a grant fund that provides for some of TEAM's projects, fed in large part by donations from a British organization called Mission Africa. Most of that money "helps provide monthly funds for [their] orphan care projects."¹²³ Two NGOs known as Tear Fund and Global Fund also provide financial assistance.¹²⁴ The Nigerian government itself does not directly fund projects, but has assisted TEAM by giving them grants through programs like the Nigerian AIDS Control Agency (NACA) and Plateau State AIDS Control Agency (PLACA).¹²⁵ Other NGO sponsors include ActionAid International, and the Promoting Sexual and Reproductive Health and HIV/AIDS Reduction in Nigeria (PSRHH) groups.¹²⁶ Finally, the ECWA AIDS ministry

¹²¹ Valkenaar, 9 January 2007.

¹²² Bertrand, 11 January 2007.

¹²³ Bertrand, 11 January 2007.

¹²⁴ Bertrand, 11 January 2007.

¹²⁵ Valkenaar, 9 January 2007.

¹²⁶ ECWA Policy on HIV/AIDS, *The ECWA AIDS Ministry*. URL: <http://www.ecwa-team.com/policy.htm> (January 2007).

project has received grant money from Global Health Action to use for its AIDS awareness projects throughout the country.¹²⁷

The wide range of financial sources alone illustrates ECWA's ability to network with many other groups to tackle the AIDS issue. The group also takes advantage of the possibilities globalization offers in terms of the sharing of information and resources. The AIDS ministry group recognizes that HIV and AIDS are a large problem, involving a vast range of difficulties, from medical care to social support. Deane Valkenaar, a former Project Manager for TEAM, believes that the organization has recently improved their cooperation within local and national networks, and will continue to do so. Often this cooperation comes in the form of referrals for complimentary care, such as "housing, training, or income generation activities."¹²⁸ This cooperation at a local level allows the group to be more effective in their projects, drawing on the expertise of others when needed.

The networking that has come to light because of globalization includes not only grassroots cooperation and specialization, but has also led to information-sharing at a much broader level. The results here are perhaps less tangible, but are just as necessary to the success of NGOs. ECWA has participated in multiple international forums, as well as being referenced as an example of a successful HIV/AIDS combatant group. Because SIM is ECWA's parent organization, and a larger, more financially secure NGO, they handle much of ECWA's international relations. Financial restrictions also prevent the AIDS ministry program from extensive travelling.¹²⁹ Despite these limitations, TEAM

¹²⁷ Seed Grants, *Global Health Action*. URL: http://www.globalhealthaction.org/seed_grants.html. (October 2006).

¹²⁸ Valkenaar, 9 January 2007.

¹²⁹ Valkenaar, 9 January 2007.

has been invited to participate in two international conferences of recognition. The first of these was a Dialogue on Civilizations, Religions, and Cultures, held at Abuja, Nigeria in December of 2003. This conference was sponsored by the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This conference espoused the ideas of actively pursuing networks among globalization's community of non-state actors:

...this programme is intended to bring together religious leaders, academics and people of goodwill, believers and non-believers alike, who share a body of ethical and humanist values and an aspiration to peace. Globalization too is now leading people from around the world to borrow from one another's cultures and ways of life. And while fast communication systems are helping people to become acquainted with the Other, yet ignorance of the Other's cultures and beliefs tends to persist. Hence the importance of dialogue in bridging the gap of misunderstanding and misconception about the Other and adapting to a new international context.¹³⁰

At this conference, Rev. Isa Bello presented a paper that discussed in detail TEAM's projects, and their beliefs in church activism on the AIDS issue. Thirty-Eight religious leaders from eleven countries participated in the conference, as well as various UNESCO leaders and conference attendees.¹³¹ The session shared ideas for effective health care and AIDS prevention through religious groups, as well as methods of funding such projects.¹³²

The second conference was the 14th International Conference on AIDS/STIs in Africa (ICASA) in December of 2005, also held in Abuja. ICASA is organized by the Society for AIDS in Africa (SAA), and is held every two years in a different African

¹³⁰ UNESCO dialogue, Foreword.

¹³¹ Final Declaration: The Abuja Statement, "The International Congress on Dialogue of Civilization, Religion and Cultures in West Africa" Abuja, 15 – 17 December 2003.

¹³² UNESCO dialogue p. 91

country.¹³³ The purpose of the conference is to bring together policy makers, academics and researchers, and those working with HIV and AIDS in Africa; it is the most important African AIDS conference, due to its size and scope.¹³⁴ ICASA sponsors contacted ECWA and asked their AIDS ministry group to present on the program's Counseling and Training Services, as well as their AIDS awareness and testing efforts.¹³⁵

¹³³ Paul Dover, "ICASA – The Future," *Eyes on AIDS* 1 (March 2006) : 1.

¹³⁴ Dover 1.

¹³⁵ Bertrand, 11 January 2007.

V. Conclusions

The positive impact of globalization on AIDS in Africa

AIDS, especially in Africa, has become a monumental issue in civil society. Not only does the virus spread beyond the physical borders between countries, but the need to combat HIV/AIDS involves participation of players across the realms of health care, education, politics, business, and security. We might call this horizontal cooperation—multiple groups of equal status but differing interests. Successful problem management also requires vertical cooperation, from an individual level to a community level, national level, and finally an international level. Dealing with the AIDS issue thus requires both breadth and depth, and the participation of all the different actors previously mentioned in this paper: national governments, NGOs, multilateral institutions, and multinational corporations. Globalization affords the information technology and new modes of communication needed to make such cooperation possible. Both ECWA and the Nigerian government take part in this new global system, demonstrating vertical and horizontal cooperation with all the aforementioned parties.

ECWA's HIV/AIDS programs are comprehensive; the organization offers health care, education and prevention programs, and counseling to people living with the virus. The church organization alone does not have the resources to fill the multi-dimensional needs of their members. By participating in a network of state and non-state actors, more possibilities become available. ECWA has interacted with MNCs directly and through PEPFAR to provide pharmaceuticals for HIV/AIDS patients. Leaders of the group have presented at international conferences sponsored by multilateral institutions, sharing their

experiences with peers all over the world, and gaining knowledge through those same interactions. The organization cooperates at a local level with other NGOs by referring their patients to other groups for additional services or treatments, and at national and international levels by receiving financial assistance from multiple non-profit organizations. Finally, ECWA forms an ideological partnership with the Nigerian government itself by providing care for Nigerian citizens, greatly supplementing the government's own health care programs.

Furthermore, a national health care program for those living with HIV/AIDS could not exist if it were not for the support of non-state actors. The Nigerian outline for its national program is based on a UNAIDS suggested framework, and the ART (antiretroviral therapy) program is based on guidelines set up by the World Health Organization. Government programs such as NACA or NASCP could not function without the structures and initiatives put forward by these multilateral institutions. Logistically, the Federal Ministry of Health could not begin to tackle the AIDS problem alone. Human, financial, and technical resources limit it as to how much actual care it can provide. Therefore, the government program can only help supply a strategic framework. The national AIDS agenda sees its role as primarily administrative, within the institutional structure of the government. This structure, clearly limited and defined by a nation-state system, does not allow for the broad yet specialized system that is needed to confront thoroughly and effectively the vast consequences of the AIDS pandemic; NGOs can compensate for a state's lack of resources. Also, because the Nigerian government is well known for its inherent corruption, political leaders often lack popular support and so must cooperate with NGOs to solve problems and effectively care for their people. The

government cannot maintain control of the situation alone, and it is forced to cooperate with outside actors in order to care for its citizens; cooperation with popularly representative organizations becomes indirect cooperation with the population itself. The Nigerian government is therefore held accountable through these groups to provide for its citizens' needs.

Where we're going: today's evolved definitions of sovereignty.

Some theorists suggest that the erosion of state power, in connection with growing interaction of non-state actors in the international sphere, will eventually lead to some version of a global democracy with states, NGOs, and MNCs all as representatives of people's needs. A global democracy could occur as an additional sector of governance, complementary to relations between nation-states. "The democracy that might be emerging," Elizabeth Friedman argues, "is akin to the deliberative turn of democratic theory, as it focuses more on deliberative and relational processes among citizens, outside formal political systems and across nation-state boundaries."¹³⁶ It is unlikely that such an arrangement would ever completely supersede the nation-state order, but any form of nation-state devolution must stem from a severe process of decentralization in policy formation, society, and economics, "as well as [from] the simultaneous establishment of federal constitutional structures."¹³⁷

There are multiple theories about the future of global governance, many of which allude to ideas similar to international democracy but with technocratic influences, that is, a system that relies on the advice of experts. A "technocratic democracy" may seem

¹³⁶ Friedman 18.

¹³⁷ Gorg 611.

contradictory, but this globalized system of institutions derives its legitimacy directly from the people, rather than through traditionally state-designated technocrats. In the space between governments and governance that was created by globalization, new non-state actors fill necessary roles and insure that “regulation exists, even though the international system is technically anarchy.”¹³⁸ Though we eventually might see some type of institutionalized multilateralism – perhaps a version of the U.N. that has gained stronger supranational powers, such as already exist in the European Union – the trend is currently indistinct at best; nation-states are still the strongest and most clearly defined actors in international relations. Multilateral institutions such as the World Trade Organization or the International Telecommunication Union, however, are growing in power and influence, lending to the “establishment of social order in a changing world, an order which emerges from the nexus between material conditions, interests, and ideas.”¹³⁹ French political philosopher Jacques Attali believes that multilateralism will go beyond vague cooperation to global governance that “formalize[s] the role of these civil-society institutions alongside the waning nation-states that make up the UN today and the world-spanning corporations whose clout transcends any political boundaries.”¹⁴⁰ The difficulty in creating such a system lies in formalizing the loose partnerships that already exist. Most countries are not willing to give up their standard ideas of sovereignty to decentralize in a way that will allow such strong multilateral institutions to emerge.

Many theorists argue that an institutionalized form of multilateralism is not possible in any form because states cling to post-Westphalian notions of sovereignty.

¹³⁸ Paris 40.

¹³⁹ Boas 141.

¹⁴⁰ Attali, Jacques. “For a UN of NGOs.” *New Perspective Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (2005): 65.

Krasner tells us, “the most important impact of economic globalization and transnational norms will be to alter the scope of state authority, rather than to generate some fundamental new way to organize political life.”¹⁴¹ Nation-states will not be able to resist the forces of globalization, but they will simply evolve to some new functions rather than alter themselves drastically.¹⁴² These theorists believe governments possess the necessary capabilities to maintain complete sovereignty, and, because they determine the existence of IOs, will not allow themselves to be overrun by the machine they created. The nation-state might recognize other non-state actors¹⁴³, but, “despite the real diffusion of power above and below the state (and to private agencies at all levels), powerful states remain the most significant site of consolidated power over people and territory in the contemporary world.”¹⁴⁴ Though Krasner and others posit that something drastic would have to happen to these primary agencies before the nation-state would lose its legitimacy and sovereignty, the current trend seems to more likely to favor strengthened multilateralism than not.

Indeed, many thinkers are in complete disagreement with the defenders of the nation-state. They postulate that global interaction is already happening at its most fundamental level between people, that “internationally recognized borders are ‘artificial, arbitrary, and accidental,’ and that [states] in fact legitimize the combining of different peoples arbitrarily, and often against their will.”¹⁴⁵ Globalization and non-state actors are giving way to new methods of accountability in which citizens themselves, regardless of nationalistic ties, are the most potent players: “sovereignty is gravitating away from ideas

¹⁴¹ Krasner, “Sovereignty,” 20.

¹⁴² Gorg 594.

¹⁴³ Lewis 53.

¹⁴⁴ Murphy 797.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* v.

of 'sovereignty for the benefit of the nation-state' and toward ideas of 'sovereignty of the people.'"¹⁴⁶ This theory is grounded strongly in notions of global civil society and the relationships between all actors in the international field: "networks are replacing nations."¹⁴⁷ Ideas of fundamental popular sovereignty offers no suggestions as to the shape of a future of international institutions, but expect a completely new sort of system to emerge that could do away with the nation-state completely.

Nation-state sovereignty is not dead. States governments must, however, adapt to the globalizing world around them in order to survive. Globalization has led to the creation of direct exchanges not only between people, but also between citizens and institutions. Non-state actors have become a new agency for holding state governments accountable; citizens can use these agencies to support or negate a government's actions. As groups like international organizations, non-government organizations, and multinational corporations grow in power, it will become necessary for states to adjust to such external influences to maintain sovereignty. This evolved sovereignty must include cooperation with non-state actors in some manner, and those relationships will re-define the traditional global system. Theorists disagree about the exact balance of power between state and non-state actors in the future, but the picture that emerges in Nigeria as it battles against AIDS shows a clear need for both vertical and horizontal cooperation between all players in order to effectively provide for people's needs in a continually changing world.

¹⁴⁶ Jackson 791.

¹⁴⁷ Clinton 46.

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